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LEFTWARD MOVEMENT AMONG THE PEOPLE

Syria Rightist coup sparked by fear of Nasser's reforms

By David Wesley

IN THE EARLY MORNING darkness of Sept. 28 a column of tanks and motorized troops under command of a brace of brigadier generals moved up the dusty road to Damascus, one of the world's oldest cities. Before dawn they occupied the radio station and other key points and surrounded the United Arab Republic's First Army headquarters, where President Nasser's Field Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer lay asleep. By nightfall the field marshal was back in Cairo, bereft of his rule in Syria.

Thus ended, after three-and-a-half years of uncertain existence, the first modern attempt at pan-Arab political federation. The union of Egypt and Syria in the UAR had been split asunder from the same cause that had put it together in the first place—the fear of radical social reform on the part of Syria's feudal oligarchy.

In 1957 a leftist group of officers took over the leadership of the Syrian army. A liberal administration, the culmination of years of Latin-style government changes since independence from France in 1946, had begun depending heavily on the Soviet bloc for economic and military aid, and the Syrian Communist Party was growing in influence. Turkey, fearful of this drift, began issuing

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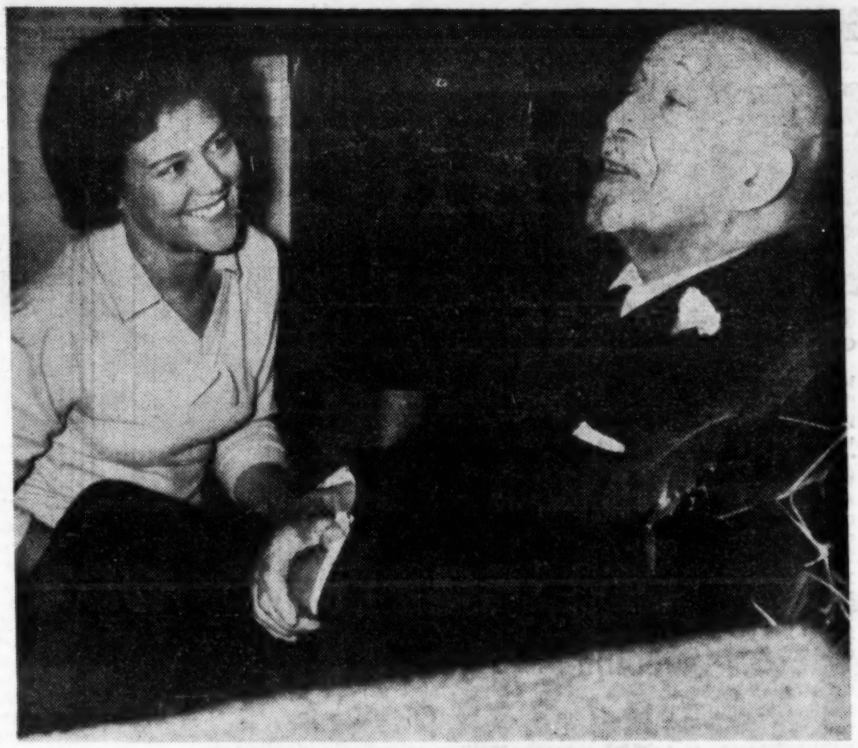

GHANA'S GAIN IS AMERICA'S LOSS

Dr. William E. Burghardt Du Bois, our country's most venerable scholar, historian, novelist and poet, has gone to Ghana at the invitation of President Kwame Nkrumah to direct publication of a monumental Encyclopedia Africana for the Ghana Academy of Science. Founder of the Pan-African Congress at Versailles in 1919, W. E. B. Du Bois first unfolded to many of the leaders of today's new African nations the vision of a liberated Africa. Shown here in a jovial mood talking to GUARDIAN's Joanne Grant the evening of his departure Oct. 6 with his wife, author Shirley Graham, Dr. Du Bois, who is 93, said the first volume of the encyclopedia would be forthcoming in ten years.

PETITION ASSAILS McCARRAN AND SMITH ACTS

Kennedy urged to shelve repressive laws

IN A PETITION to President Kennedy Oct. 9, 322 citizens called for executive action to halt further proceedings under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) and the membership provisions of the Smith Act, asserting that the decisions reached by the U.S. Supreme Court last June 5 and affirmed Oct. 9, pose grave dangers to the country.

The petition was initiated by 25 individuals. Included were two Methodist Bishops, Lloyd C. Wicke of the New York area, and Edgar Love of the Baltimore area; and Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Walter Mitchell of California. Ten other ministers and rabbis were among the initiators. In addition to Bishop Love, two other Negro leaders were initiators—Mrs. Modjeska M. Simkins, vice president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of South Carolina; and Prof. G. Murray Branch of Atlanta University. Six other professors and two lawyers joined in initiating the petition.

'ERA OF FEAR': The two 5-4 decisions of the Supreme Court June 5, the petitioners said, come at a time "when we had begun happily to emerge from an era of fear, conformity and suspicion." The decision upholding the Internal Security Act effectively prohibits freedom of association and speech specifically protected by the First Amendment of our Constitution," the petition contends. The same opinion is voiced concerning the Smith Act decision which has already jailed Junius Scales, former Communist Party member, "solely because of his association in an organization which advocates revolutionary change."

"If these decisions are permitted to stand, they will stimulate ever greater repressions, ever bolder invasions of our protected freedoms, roundups of dissenters, book burnings and a permanent corps of informers," the petition concludes.

SOME ENDORSERS: The signers include 90 ministers and rabbis, 70 professors and educators; 30 lawyers; 20 authors, journalists and editors; 17 physicians and 9 artists.

Among endorsers of the petition, in addition to the 25 initiators, are William Ernest Hocking, Harvard professor-emeritus; Bishops Malcolm E. Peabody, G. Ashton Oldham and Arthur W. Moulton of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister-emeritus of the Community Church, New York; Freda Kirchwey, former publisher of the **Nation**; the Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson of Scott Memorial Methodist Church, Detroit; C. S. Wells, president of the Cleveland Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Dr. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., former dean and vice president of the New School for Social Research, New York; Prof. Paul Lehmann of Harvard Divinity School,

(Other stories about court rulings, pages 6 and 7)

MONROE, N.C., NEGRO JOLTS THE PRESS IN HAVANA

Williams in Cuba: 'A fugitive from U.S. barbarians'

By Cedric Belfrage
Guardian staff correspondent

HAVANA

SPEAKING DELIBERATELY, Robert F. Williams of Monroe, N.C., faced a dozen rows of reporters across a conference room desk here and said: "I come from a country that is not yet civilized—an exile from a native land that was never home, a fugitive from barbarians who claim to teach the world about democracy." He had just been granted political asylum by the first American socialist government.

Williams had a few sentences prepared in his head; then for two hours pencils flew over notebooks as, answering questions, he built up the picture of "my home town." The narrative brought occasional gasps from reporters seasoned in the mores of Dixie.

Several newsmen thought publicizing the facts throughout the U.S. was of key importance, and one asked why representatives of AP and UPI were excluded from the press conference.

"I requested it," said Williams, "because it is not safe for one of those people to come in my presence. For two months in Monroe we Afro-Americans were subjected to a reign of terror—beatings, gunfire, rape, four attempts on my life in the presence of police and newsmen. I constantly appealed to AP and UPI to carry these stories, and pictures that I offered them, so that decent people would know and speak out. The only information carried was such as could be used against us.

IN THE PAPERS: "After I escaped, you heard through AP and UPI that I was a criminal; my only crime was that by fate of birth I have a black skin. All the papers carried the FBI warning that I am extremely dangerous. This was so that if I was caught I would be shot on sight, not taken prisoner." Williams read a recent telegram about new violence against Negroes in Monroe since he escaped, including beatings of children and rape of a 17-year-old. "You don't read about these. Where was the great American press?"

WHITES ONLY

Referring to the 1958 "kissing case" which brought global notoriety to Monroe (two small boys jailed, tried and sentenced for "kissing a white girl"), Williams said: "We exposed it to the world against the will of AP, UPI and the U.S. government, and world pressure freed them. This is the town from whose justice I am supposed to be a fugitive."

What is justice in Monroe, N.C.? "In 1959 we forced into court a man who attacked and beat an eight-month-pregnant Afro-American woman; he was found not guilty because he was 'drunk and just having a little fun.' A man who kicked another Afro-American mother down a flight of stairs never came to his trial, but was 'not guilty.'

VIOLENCE AT POOL: "Three months ago we asked permission to use the Monroe swimming pool, built with Federal tax money; our kids have to go 25 miles to swim. The pool was closed as a result of our students' picket line, then great numbers of Ku Klux Klansmen started surrounding the pool.

"On June 28, with 3,000 racists gathered near the pool, an old car was crash-

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

On the one hand . . .

GREENWICH, CONN.

You seem to be in need of some letters supporting your refreshing and intelligent forbearance in not rushing to print with the usual outcries of "disillusion," "misplaced faith," etc., every time some U.S.S.R. action pains another covey of liberals who don't believe what they know, or who founded their support of the Left on the notion that 40 years of war-encircled experimental socialism has created a race of angels perfectly immune from the slings and arrows of outrageous capitalism.

I therefore break a vow never to attempt public comment on the operations of the human mind formed under capitalist culture—more especially American capitalist culture, which is a peculiarly pure form unredeemed by any ideal tradition or genuine religion.

I write to say that I think that the U.S.S.R.'s statement upon resuming tests contains perfectly valid and conclusive justification, especially when the part omitted by the **Times**, but supplied by one of your correspondents, is read. Beyond this and more important, resumption of the tests by the fallen angels has at last brought into the open and onto the lips of every tinhorn radio sage and every TV chatterer loud and long announcements of the baleful effects of nuclear bomb testing; even the recently disillusioned might recall that the deadly effects of Great Democracy testing were concealed, distorted, or denied by every channel of misinformation available to the establishment.

Furthermore, in answer to one of your correspondent's queries: Is it any better to die by U.S.S.R. testing than any other? I personally record my answer as Yes. At least in the latter case one would not be perishing for the greater glory of Pentagon-Madison Avenue civilization but possibly to help in the preservation of a culture where a few really noble ideals, which however difficult and long aborning, have already provided a few glimmers of light.

Paul Traugott

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BERKELEY, CALIF.

I should like to tell B. & A. M. "what mischief is greater than the end of mankind." It is the intolerable probability, as matters now stand, that in the event of a thermonuclear war a portion of makind **would** survive—the military, business, and government elite of this country.

Russia's development of a 100-megaton bomb can at least give promise of equality of treatment for this group of otherwise untouchables tucked away in its concrete cities too deep to be reached by present-size H-bombs. It should give the souls of those conned into digging their own graves in their backyard "fallout shelters" some solace to be joined immediately by those from the Pentagon, the Birch Society, the HUAC, the Father of the H-Bomb, ad nauseam.

Elizabeth Walser

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CINCINNATI, OHIO

The letters denouncing the Soviet Union's resumption of atomic testing display an astonishing amount of ignorance. I had thought that Guardian readers would be more perceptive. What do the denunciators want, that the Soviet Union refuse to ensure its own and the world's security and remain weaker than the West?

America has carried out many more nuclear tests than the U.S.S.R. Is it fair that it maintain this atomic advantage which might well lead the imperialists to gamble fatally with the peace and destiny of the world?

The sanctimonious letter-writers would have us believe that all governments are equally evil, that the Soviet government is on a par with the imperialist ones.

The beauty of Man, the intelligence of Man—these noble ideas cry out from the pages of Soviet magazines, from Soviet films and from the speeches of Soviet leaders as well as from their draft program recently published. Show me any Western government that would foster such an optimistic and humane outlook. No, the Soviet government is not on the level of Western governments, it is on the highest level morally that any government has ever been.

Charlotte Saxe

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CHICAGO, ILL.

Many people who purport to be friends of the Soviet Union seem to feel that unless Soviet policy follows their ideas of what a foreign policy should be, it is to be criticized, if not actually condemned.

The statement announcing the decision of the Soviet Union to resume testing made it very clear that this was done for one reason and one reason only—that this had become necessary as a step to deter the capitalist world from starting a nuclear war. Would the critics of the Soviet Union prefer that it stand on **their** moral principles and let a nuclear war get under way?

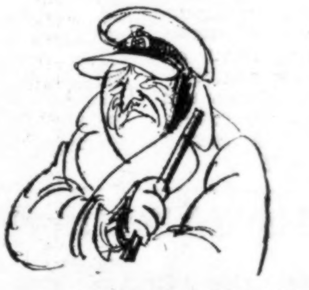
Name Withheld

. . . and on the other

CHICAGO, ILL.

The continued exploding of nuclear devices by the Russians, **according to you**, can result in untold numbers of deaths due to bone cancer and leukemia, as well as committing future generations to unknown and horrible changes. What possible justification can there be for such crimes? Either you can demonstrate that the peace of the world depends upon the resumption of testing or else you must clearly take a stand in outright condemnation.

Albert Shtasel



Drawing by Arthur Horner

"The H-Bomb's not practical, old man—like gas. Take it from me, the next show'll be decided by the fighting soldier."

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The position taken by the GUARDIAN on the Soviet resumption of tests was the most disappointing during the 11 years I have been a subscriber.

Many honest, intelligent and politically active people have accepted a double standard of conduct, one for socialist countries, the other for capitalist.

It is only from the frame of reference of this double standard that an otherwise morally honest person can attempt to justify the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests despite its clear promise that it would not be the first to do so. (Here the Soviet reference to French tests as an attempt to excuse its own must be dismissed, unless one chooses to believe the unbelievable—that the French tests represented an advance over those previously conducted by the United States).

It is also this double standard which enables such people to condemn, and to rightfully struggle against, the unconstitutional jailing of scores of people in this country for their political beliefs; while at the same time dismissing as "mistakes" the jailing and executions, also for political beliefs, of thousands in the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union.

It is this same double standard, and the rigid ideological concepts which often underlie it, which for many years have been powerful deterrents to the development of a broad, dynamic and independent socialist movement in the U.S.A.

R. J. M.

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BOSTON, MASS.

While it is commendable you published a few letters criticizing your apologetic approach, I think the GUARDIAN has seriously compromised itself because of its efforts to excuse and explain away this reckless act of the Soviet Union.

There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that had it been the U.S. which first resumed nuclear testing, above or below the surface of the earth, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN would have assailed the action with the most vituperative vocabulary at the editor's command. It is not that persons like myself wish to damn the Soviet Union at every opportunity, but rather that an awareness of the immorality and real danger of nuclear testing cannot be tempered with motives of political expediency.

Florian Weissenborn

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 3. (AP)—A Supreme Court Justice from Pennsylvania urged a change of name today for the Cincinnati baseball team. Anything but Reds would do, he said. Justice Michael A. Musmanno suggested the change in a 700-word letter to Fred Hutchinson of the Reds. The Reds, he told the manager of the Reds, deserve something better. He wrote the Reds' manager that a headline like "Reds Murder Yanks" might cause some "terrible scares in America." Musmanno said he was grieved "to the core" over the name Reds.

N.Y. Times, Oct. 4

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: S. P., Oceanside, N. Y.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

WITHIN RECENT MONTHS at least four "legal kidnappings" of U.S. residents by the FBI and Mexican police have been narrowly forestalled by last-minute efforts of alert Mexican progressives. On Aug. 16, 1950, the FBI and Mexican allies blackjacked and snatched from Mexico Morton Sobell, fellow victim of the Rosenbergs. Gus Hall's seizure on Oct. 8 was preceded by a two-day campaign on front pages of Mexico City's right-wing **Excelsior** against the "red nest" of U.S. radicals in Mexico. The U.S. Embassy formally congratulated the paper on its expose.

Mexicans, still smarting from the appointment of a U.S. ambassador tarred by political scandal (former N.Y. Mayor O'Dwyer) were tiring of "Yanqui" arm-twisting. Diego Rivera, rated one of the world's greatest artists, led a delegation of other prominent persons to the Ministry of the Interior, protested the "betrayal" of the right of asylum, said the hasty removal "demonstrates the intervention of the U.S. in Mexico's internal affairs and is a violation of the Constitution."

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 17, 1951

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VOL. 14, No. 1 401 October 16, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

Volume 14, No. 1

THIS IS THE FIRST ISSUE of the 14th year of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Anniversaries are an evocative time and as each bright blue October rolls around and the GUARDIAN completes another year, the temptation is strong to review the past, tick off the bright spots and the gloomy ones and tot up a current score.

But we believe history is a continuing process, nurtured in the past, for good or evil; making its way (sometimes backward) in the present, and casting the portents of the time to come. In this sense, as we come back up from October, 1948, we can say with reason: Wasn't that a time to try the soul of man—and isn't it still?

Born as it was in a time of hope in the Progressive Party, the GUARDIAN looked ahead then—albeit with storm warnings raised—to a break in the ominous gathering of the cold-war clouds. But there was no break: indeed the storms broke often, and the hurricane still threatens. Roosevelt was dead. The warrior Churchill had spoken at Fulton, Mo., and the narrow mind of Harry Truman confined the sights of America. The brothers Dulles moved to the fore with J. Edgar Hoover and the Congress of the United States became openly the lickspittle for the great industrial combines and their lobbies.

IN THIS ATMOSPHERE, what was the role of a struggling independent newsweekly? It was to take up the case of the Trenton Six and see it through to a victory, and to break wide open the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and see it through to the tragic end (with the end not yet in sight for Morton Sobell, the man on the conscience of this nation). It was to record the inevitablility of the Chinese Revolution and the dreadful folly of the Korean War; to report on and to be a part of the macrabre era of Joe McCarthy, during which the editors were summoned to the inquisition and the editor-in-chief became editor-in-exile.

It was to foresee the great awakening in Africa—in no small part through the magnificent voice of the father of that awakening, W.E.B. Du Bois—and the rise of the nations of Asia. Then came Montgomery and Little Rock and the Freedom Riders, and the gatherings of organizations for peace, here and abroad, and the Peace Walkers. There was above all the Bomb, and the struggle to banish it, a struggle to which we remain dedicated without regard to nationality. And there was and is the overriding question of survival in a nuclear age, for ourselves and the world.

IN THIS TORRENTIAL RAIN of events, in the complexity of reporting and analyzing these events, how does the GUARDIAN see its role today? We remain persuaded that almost without exception the press and the communications media in general are involved in a vast collaboration, planned and unplanned, to keep Americans misinformed and uninformed, and therefore unable to gauge accurately the events which threaten to engulf them.

Primarily, we see it as our role to provide an antidote to this misinformation and a corrective in the form of articles and analysis gathered from the most reliable sources and crafted by honest, intelligent men and women. This is done within the framework of a point of view which is radical and dynamic.

We are fully aware that our role still is that of the dissenter, representing what is called the minority point of view. But we hold that this role is the most respectable one and that one day the word radical will be restored to the honored place it held in the founding days of this nation.

That we have been able to persevere through these 13 years is a tribute to the loyalty of the staff of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, both here and abroad, and especially to the comprehension and cooperation of the Gideon's Army of American progressives, that unyielding garrison which has understood all these years and understands today the terrible need for the voice of vigorous and positive dissent to ring clear, until such time as it bespeaks the assenting voice of the majority of peace-seeking, libertarian Americans who must one day come to the great awakening.

To this expectation we dedicate our Vol. 14 and all those to come.

—THE GUARDIAN

KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION IS LAMBASTED FOR INACTION

Iowa farmers convene, issue call for parity — and peace

By Charles R. Allen Jr.
Special to the Guardian

DES MOINES

"YOU KNOW, after we got rid of Benson and Ike, I sort of thought that maybe we'd do better under Kennedy and Freeman, but I do believe that things have got a whole lot worse since the new crew took over in Washington!"

This was a typical remark of a Midwestern farmer at the yearly convention of the Iowa Farmers' Association Sept. 29 and 30—two days of intensive argument and discussion on the deepening, chronic depression of the family farmer.

About 100 delegates gathered to hammer out a program for "Peace and Parity"—the theme of the meeting.

In addition to the Iowa delegates, there were farmers from as far away as Texas, Montana and Utah. Other farm states represented included Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, the Dakotas and Kansas.

STOVER SPEECH: Fred Stover, once head of the Iowa Farmers Union and a 1948 Progressive Party leader and now president of the U.S. and the Iowa Farmers Associations, won an enthusiastic endorsement by the convention in a keynote speech analyzing the economics and the politics of the Association's position.

"I've said before and I shall repeat it," said Stover. "Through price supports and parity we seek a just and decent income for the family farmer.

"When Kennedy and Freeman [Orville Freeman, former Minnesota governor and now Secretary of Agriculture] came out here campaigning for the White House in 1960, they said that there was nothing wrong with the laws governing parity and price supports; that all they needed was implementation. All we had to do was to vote Benson [Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture under the Eisenhower Administration] and the Republicans out and the Democrats in, and our troubles would be over."

NO ACTION: Yet, Stover said, the Democratic Department of Agriculture has not made a move toward implementing either its own party's 1960 platform (the farm plank of the Democrats' 1960 platform was endorsed by the U.S. Farmers' Association and its Iowa branch) or existing law.

"As a result of a campaign originally launched by our own **U.S. Farm News** (official organ of the Association) with ranking members of the House Agriculture Committee, we were able to win key objectives," he said.

Stover said that the Poage Bill, which would have eliminated all price supports, was killed and the 1961 Emergency Federal Grain Act was extended through 1962.

Stover read a section of the 1961 Act providing that price supports on corn and feed grains [major crops of the assembled farmers] cannot be pegged at "less than 65% of parity."

"There is nothing in the law to prevent Secretary Freeman from putting parity and price supports up as high as he chooses," Stover pointed out, but he added that there is no sign from Washington that the Democrats will set high supports. Stover also told the convention that "several Republican Congressmen have admitted that my observations on the law are true—Freeman does have this power. Will he use it? That's the question."

INCREASE ASKED: Following Stover's lead, the convention voted to call on Freeman to raise supports on all crops "substantially above the 1961 levels" and to establish a minimum of 90% parity during the next year.

The Farmers' Association head scored what he termed a "woolly-headed" interpretation of farm politics.

"Very often," he said, "we find that on the issue of price supports there happen to be farm belt Republicans who—like Congressman Charlie Hoeven of Iowa—take good positions. And there are some who are very good on this so-called 'foreign aid,' which is nothing but military spending. They [these farm belt Republicans] are a darn sight better than these so-called Northern liberals."

BILL ASSAILED: The Iowa Farmers' Association also challenged supporters of the recently defeated Kennedy-Freeman farm bill which, according to Stover, "contradicted the Democrats' own public declarations"; and which, he said, would have "set up a vast bureaucracy under the dictatorship of Secretary Freeman."

FRED STOVER
"We seek a just and decent income"

Acknowledging with satisfaction that the **U.S. Farm News** had played an active role in the defeat of the Democrats' proposal, Stover remarked that "anybody who thinks the Kennedy-Freeman thing was a good bill done in by a coalition of Dixicrats and reactionary Republicans just doesn't know the facts of life on the farm. It would have opened the door for a rubber-stamp dictatorship. We'll never solve the farm issue with anti-democratic measures."

Asked privately what he thought the chances were of the Kennedy Administration's adopting full parity (anything 90% or more), Stover answered: "Kennedy says pretty words—just as he does on the issue of peace—but he's not so good on carrying them out. He's already said publicly that full parity 'costs too much.' But we'll put the pressure on him wherever we can in our own modest way."

PEACE APPEAL: There was much talk of peace at the convention. General Hugh B. Hester, retired top staff officer and an authority on international relations, made a plea for disarmament and peace in a general way and also called for "cooperative coexistence" between East and West.

The retired brigadier—who served in the Pacific area under MacArthur in World War II—characterized Civil Defense plans for evacuations of populous areas as a "fraudulent and cruel deception." "These so-called evacuations simply cannot be done," Hester said. "Talk of evacuations and fallout shelters and 'limited warfare' is just talk preparing us all for global incineration."

Joining the discussions on peace was William N. Plymat, head of the Preferred Risk Mutual Insurance Co. of Des Moines and the founder of the World Peace Broadcasting Federation, Inc. A jovial Republican and a prominent Methodist layman, Plymat has been flooding the nation's radio stations with peace materials including talks by Jerome Frank, Steve Allen and Martin Luther King. Plymat's materials now reach regularly more than 150 radio stations throughout the U.S.

'NICE WORDS': The Iowa Farmers' Association offered a peace resolution that was consistent with the basic direction of the convention: It took some of Kennedy's "nice words" on peace and called upon him to implement them — along with parity.

Since war has been made "irrational" and since there "can be no alternatives to peace," there clearly, the resolution said, "can be no alternative to full and continuous negotiations" on all issues including Berlin, Germany, and disarmament.

The convening farmers from 11 western states were pleased with their program. Said one, "I like coming down here with you all. It sort of makes me strong again like that fellow in the Greek stories who every time he hit the earth when he wrestled got stronger. You come down here and you know that the American privilege of free speech is here. It's a real good feeling."

NATIONALIZED INDUSTRY ASSAILED BY WESTERN CARTELS

Italy challenges the oil monopolies

By Phyllis Rosner
Guardian staff correspondent

ROME

ATTACKS ON ENI, the company controlling Italy's nationalized oil industry, by West European and American coal and oil interests are getting sharper. A frequent target in the West German, Belgian and American press is the head of ENI, Dr. Enrico Mattei. And at almost every meeting of the economic section of the West European Union ENI comes under fire.

The Anglo-American oil monopolies—the so-called Big Seven—are fighting tooth and nail against ENI's lower prices. ENI also is being attacked by Belgian and West German coal interests, which do not know where to dispose of mounting pithead stocks. It is under fire from the French, who want to dispose of their Saharan oil. It is assailed for having purchased 12 million tons of Soviet oil at a lower price than that offered by the cartels. And all of these interests argue that ENI is "breaking Atlantic solidarity."

SMALLER PROFIT: Under Mattei's leadership, ENI took over a big share of Italy's oil needs, and negotiated exploration and development rights in some sections of Iran. The Iran pacts break the cartels' accepted 50-50 split on royalties and give the Iranian government 75% of the profits. In addition, ENI holds a big interest in the Egyptian National Oil Co. and has a refinery and several depots in Egypt.

There is a concerted plan of pressure against ENI "by leaders of the world oil monopolies and their respective governments," **Il Punto,** Italian weekly, declared recently. **Il Punto** also reported intervention by the French government against talks between ENI and the Algerian Liberation Movement about Sahara oil. The weekly also said Britain objected to negotiations between ENI and Iraq on exploiting deposits there. Questions have been asked (but not answered) in the Italian Parliament about the Rome government's attitude toward discrimination against ENI in Rhodesia and Kenya by Shell and British Petroleum.

PRESSURE METHODS: Il Punto published details of the methods being used against ENI. It reported that having studied the market in Kenya, ENI decided in May, 1960, to found a company, Agip Ltd., to distribute oil products in the country at competitive prices. It was aware that the Kenya government had agreed that Shell and British Petroleum should construct a refinery at Mombasa.

Repeated inquiries by ENI as to what the situation would be when the Mombasa refinery was finished were ignored. Eventually ENI was informed that British, French and American firms would be allowed to use the refinery, but not ENI. Kenya also indicated that ENI could not import oil products into Kenya, would have to obtain all its products from the Shell-BP refinery, and could not sell at prices lower than those of the international cartel.

In Rhodesia, ENI was prevented by the government from participating in construction of a refinery jointly with an American independent oil company, Aminoil, and Shell.

DEFENSE HINTED: So far all this opposition has not discouraged ENI. It is reliably reported that the Italian government has decided to come to the defense of its nationalized oil industry.

ENI's offers to exploit oil resources of other countries at low prices have greatly alarmed the cartel firms. They fear a wide breach in the monopoly which so far has permitted them to tell oil-producing countries: "Either you accept our conditions, or you will not be able to sell your oil." Now ENI is in a position to make Ghana, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Egypt independent of the cartels, to help construct refineries for them and to build up distribution networks.

Italy's developing economy needs yearly about 24 million tons of crude oil, half of which is supplied by ENI. Moreover, it is supplied at a price lower than that of the oil monopolies, so that they have been forced to reduce their prices in Italy, at an estimated annual loss of $55 million in profit.

THE SOVIET DEAL: ENI's contract to import 12 million tons of Soviet oil by 1965 will cover an eighth of the country's annual requirements. Italy is paying $1 a barrel for Soviet oil, whereas the other companies sell Middle East oil at $1.85 a barrel to Italy, and the price of Saharan oil is even higher. Italy also can pay for Soviet oil with its own products; this is not possible in trading with the Western oil cartels. Italy's payment will include 240,000 tons of steel tubing for oil pipes, 50,000 tons of synthetic rubber, and pumps and engines. This has assured employment to thousands of Italian workers and prevented the closing of some factories. The Soviet oil is being transported in Italian tankers from Black Sea ports to refineries at Livorno, Marghera and Bari.

Recently Mattei hit back at the French, American and British oil cartels. In an interview in the French weekly **France-Observateur,** he disclosed that ENI had repeatedly refused offers made by the cartels to participate in exploiting Saharan oil. "I do not want my technicians to find themselves one day in the position of having to work under protection of arms," Mattei said.

Mattei has been threatened with death by the OAS, Fascist organization of the French Army. The threat was in a letter in which the OAS referred to Mattei's negotiations with Ferhat Abbas "to exploit the Saharan wells should Algeria become independent."

TOUGH LINE CONSISTENT WITH HIS RECORD

JFK's stand on home, foreign affairs chills liberal backers

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S troubled honeymoon is over. There is now general agreement that the President is conservative on domestic matters, tough in foreign affairs.

On both counts his liberal supporters are disenchanted.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) has called the Administration's record "at best one of callous expediency, and at worst one of astonishing indifference to real national needs." It said the President has used "a formula of accommodation and compromise" with Dixiecrats and Republican reactionaries, and that "the door to the New Frontier remains closed." (Democratic Senators Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.), Wayne Morse (Ore.), Joseph Clark (Pa.), Maurine Neuberger (Ore.), Eugene McCarthy (Minn.), top White House aide Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and seven leading AFL-CIO officials are all national leaders of ADA.)

BAD JOKE: The AFL-CIO's ABC network commentator, Edward P. Morgan, quotes "a distinguished Democrat in an important government post" as saying that "the Kennedy Administration shows a surprisingly conservative record . . . The White House performance . . . has been a strange mixture of conservatism and expediency." Socialist leader Norman Thomas has said: "The Democratic platform of 1960, once hailed by liberals, is a rather bad joke in the light of Democratic performance . . . Kennedy has made no forthright attempt to arouse or educate the public on these issues. His low estimate of the possible has left him pretty much a captive to the conservatives."

In contrast, AFL-CIO legislative director Andrew J. Beimiller hailed the 1961 session of Congress as a success because of "the appearance of a liberal Administration directed by a vigorous young President." Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) referred to "Kennedy's extraordinary leadership—his mastery of the legislative process has not been matched since the earliest days of Franklin Roosevelt."

POLITICS AS USUAL: The New York **Times** commented editorially (Sept. 27): "The high excitement of President Kennedy's initial challenge to New Frontiers of social inventiveness was quickly lost in a politics-as-usual atmosphere. For this the White House itself must assume a substantial share of responsibility. The President and his aides too rarely manifested strong conviction as to the urgency of key elements in the Kennedy legislative program. These included aid to education, medical care for the aged, tax reform, civil rights and faster economic growth."

New York **Herald Tribune** columnist Roscoe Drummond said (Oct. 1) that criticism of the Kennedy record can come "validly from the liberal-left elements of the Democratic Party. The fact is that Mr. Kennedy as President has been far more conservative than Mr. Kennedy the candidate. The measures he has promoted to 'get the country moving again' have reflected little of the urgency with which he appealed to the nation to elect him. He has left virtually untouched the underlying economic and social problem of our times—high chronic unemployment despite mounting recovery . . ."

LET THINGS RIDE: The economic upswing has taken the President off the hook for the time being. The normal upward course of the business cycle plus rapidly expanded military spending has eased the problem of combating the recession. But the President's decision to "let things ride" economically has meant turning his back on the millions of jobless, who remain at the recession level of 7%.

The President has been willing to drop or drastically compromise all proposals for new social welfare legislation. The minimum wage issue was reduced to the question of setting it at $1.25 in 1964 instead of raising it to $1.15 immediately. The housing bill was diverted from aid to low income families to, in the words of the **Wall Street Journal** (Sept. 12), "a general stimulus for the entire housing industry as advocated by the National Association of Home Builders."

The aid to depressed areas bill turned out to be little more than a small program for loans to business, with only $30 million a year of direct government aid. When the going got rough on the aid to education bill, the White House lost interest. Tax reform, health aid to the aged, unemployment compensation improvement, action on monopolies, were all by-passed.

THINGS WERE JUST FINE BACK IN JANUARY
The question: Is Arthur Schlesinger Jr. still so pleased?

CIVIL RIGHTS: The President opposed Congressional action on civil rights or on curbing the filibuster. He repudiated Sen. Clark and Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), whom he had assigned to draft legislation based on Democratic Party platform promises on civil rights. What will result from promised Executive action on civil rights remains uncertain, since the President's tactic of appeasing the Dixiecrats will restrain the White House on all fronts.

The White House position on civil liberties will become clearer as the Dept. of Justice moves to enforce the McCarran Act against the Communist Party. The prospect is not encouraging. There has been no sign of Administration opposition to numerous repressive bills passed in the House this year. It is taken for granted that the President will sign the Walter bill to speed up deportations. The Dept. of Justice seeks approval for wiretapping on an unprecedented scale, and has started proceedings to enforce the anti-Communist provision of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act. Hopes of freedom for Morton Sobell have been dashed by the Justice Dept.

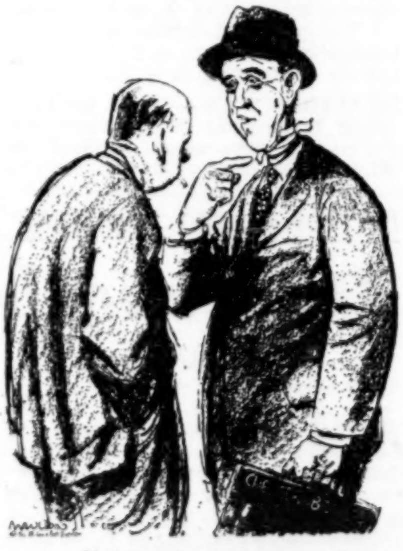
COLD WAR: Kennedy's toughness in the cold war and his increase in military spending have won bipartisan Congressional support. **U.S. News & World Report** (Aug. 17) is gratified that Kennedy has "set a new course for U.S. . . . The shift to toughness is long-range. . . . The only way to keep U.S. from being kicked around is readiness to take on Reds at any time, any place in the world."

Stewart Alsop, writing on "How's Kennedy Doing?" in the **Saturday Evening Post** (Sept. 16), gives him a bad mark on foreign affairs, but only because of his failure to intervene more agrressively in Cuba and Laos. Alsop quotes approvingly one of Kennedy's former rivals for the Democratic nomination: "When Jack Kennedy holds a knife to your belly and looks you in the eye, you know he'll use the knife if he has to!" Alsop says that in dealing with Khrushchev "there is now no doubt that, if the time comes when there is no other choice, he'll use the knife if he has to."

INNER SHIFTS: Within the Administration, the President is turning from Democratic liberals to conservative and hard-line cold warriors in both parties. **U.S. News** (Oct. 9) reports: "Arthur Schlesinger Jr., former Harvard professor, also appears to be playing a diminishing part in the White House affairs. This is being said, too, of some others of the early team whose ideas are regarded as strongly 'liberal.'" In the Berlin crisis, the President has turned to Gen. Lucius Clay and Truman's Secy. of State Dean Acheson, who played decisive roles in the initiation of the cold war. Chester Bowles has been turned into a mere job-holder in the State Dept., while Adlai Stevenson, who so badly compromised himself in the Cuban affair, is left with the role of a spokesman unrelated to policy determination.

Senators who advocate moderation in the cold war find themselves directly repudiated or out of sympathy in the White House. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield's suggestion that Berlin be made a free city was promptly rejected in a Presidential press conference. Moderate proposals by Senate Foreign Affairs Committees chairman William Fulbright (D-Ark.) have been met with sharp hostility by the Administration Kennedy's appointments have veered sharply to the right with the assignment of GOP industrialists John A. McCone to head the CIA and William C. Foster to head the Disarmament Agency.

LITTLE COUNCIL: Within the White House, the President's military adviser, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, has set up a "little National Security Council": Defense Secy. Robert McNamara, Republican and former president of the Ford Motor Co.; Secy. of State Dean Rusk, former president of the Rockefeller Foundation; Secy. of the Treasury Douglas Dillon, investment banker and largest contributor to the Republican 1960 campaign, and McGeorge Bundy, Republican former Harvard University official.



Mauldin in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"The President himself taped it back on."

James Reston of the New York **Times** reported (Oct. 8) that "President Kennedy's liberal intellectual supporters are beginning to sound a little sad and disillusioned about the new Administration." But actually the President has not changed course or betrayed the liberals. His conservatism on domestic matters and toughness in the cold war are consistent with his record in Congress. And the limitations in domestic policy are consistent with, and even required by, the foreign policy which calls for an increase of $6 billion in the military budget and general preparation for war.

Mother and babies to protest A-blasts

SEVERAL HUNDRED women, with their children, are expected to stand in silent protest against nuclear bomb testing for four hours at Atomic Energy Commission offices in New York on Nov. 1. A delegation will present a written protest to the Soviet Embassy. Picketing foreign embassies is prohibited by law.

The demonstration was organized by a handful of women, who formed the ad hoc Women's Direct Action Project Against All Nuclear Testing. The group expects to have 500 pledged demonstrators by the end of the month. The women are of varying political views and have no program beyond opposition to tests.

On Nov. 1, the women and children are to form a line around AEC headquarters at 376 Hudson St., from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. Some will stage a "stand-in" in the lobby.

Information is available from: Women's Direct Action Project, 498 West End Ave., Apt. 12A, New York 24, N.Y. Call TR 3-2239 evenings.

THERE IS
NO SHELTER
IN
NUCLEAR WAR

A PROTEST IN N.Y. LAST SPRING
Mothers and kids at City Hall

KUMAR GOSHAL INTERVIEWS ABDUL AZIZ ZUABI

Israeli Arabs' bitterness explained by a leader

After a 17-week tour of London, Paris, West and East Africa, India, Israel and Rome, Guardian foreign affairs editor Kumar Goshal has returned to the U.S. He is now completing articles on Israel and India before he takes off on Oct. 25 for a coast-to-coast lecture tour. The following article covers his interview in Israel with Abdul Aziz Zuabi.

By Kumar Goshal

"THE STATE OF ISRAEL cannot have peace with its Arab neighbors," Israeli Arab leader Abdul Aziz Zuabi told me, "until there is peace and harmony between Jews and Arabs within Israel."

"Of course there has been progress; but progress itself has intensified the Israeli Arabs' discontent," he continued. "More and more young Arabs, for instance, are getting a high school education and they feel terribly frustrated because they can't get jobs for which they feel they qualify. They are embittered. Many are slipping out of Israel to the Arab countries next door, to Europe, to America. They are hardly messengers of goodwill from Israel. It's a bad situation."

I soon realized how bad was the situation. For the day after I returned to the U.S. the American press carried stories of five Israeli Arab youths shot to death by an Israeli border patrol as they sought to flee into the Egyptian-held Gaza Strip. Violence erupted after their death as Arabs demonstrated in Nazareth, Acre and Haifa.

LAND EXPROPRIATION IS ONE OF THE ARABS' BIGGEST COMPLAINTS
In the absence of security, he goes on plowing the soil by the old, crude methods.

TRIUMPH AND TROUBLE: Less than two weeks before the young Arabs were shot, I talked with Abdul Aziz and his younger brother at their sparsely furnished home in Nazareth, and spent a day roaming the city in the company of an Arab writer and an Arab school teacher. I had already spent more than a week in Israel, visiting the kibbutzim where many of my friends lived, traveling throughout the land, tremendously impressed by the incredible achievements of the Israelis. I had come to feel, as I told a friend, that every inch of Israel was packed with drama, and my friend added that every inch also had its problems. I came across one of these problems when I met Abdul Aziz Zuabi.

The Zuabis are an important and intriguing family. Abdul Aziz is the Deputy Mayor of Nazareth; he supports the socialist-oriented Mapam party. His cousin, who votes for David Ben-Gurion's right-wing Mapai party, is the Mayor of Nazareth. Abdul Aziz's younger brother supports the Communist party.

OLD AND MODERN: Outwardly somnolent, Nazareth is a city of startling contrasts. The pace is slow, donkeys as well as autos furnish transportation, the Arabs display their goods in stalls along labyrinthine lanes bordered by open ditches. Their crude homes are without modern conveniences.

Away from them and on the high hills are the increasing number of modern homes and apartment houses of the Jewish population. In between are the old Christian churches where guides take visitors through dark passageways into cave chambers where Joseph and Mary were said to have lived. In this city mixing feudal squalor, religious relics, modern plumbing, and even a luxurious Grand Hotel, the 26,000 Arabs—especially the students—are stirring.

The 250,000 Israeli Arabs, Abdul Aziz told me, have many reasons for bitterness. The Ben-Gurion administration, declaring them "security risks," has placed most of them under military government. They live in specified areas. Their movements are restricted and they have to carry passes and observe a curfew. They are generally denied access to civilian courts and are subject instead to courts-martial.

Especially bitter are the students, Abdul Aziz said. The Administration has not discriminated against the Arabs regarding schools. But many students after finishing school are obliged to make a living as waiters and dishwashers in hotels, others find no employment at all. They do not consider such work beneath their dignity, Abdul Aziz added, but they do wonder why so few of them have an opportunity to constructively use the knowledge they have acquired.

'BRIDGE' NEEDED: "All Israelis of good will wish and hope that the Arabs of this country will build the bridge of understanding between Israel and the Arab world outside," Abdul Aziz said. "The educated Arab youth are the most qualified to be the architects of that bridge. But how can they do so if the Administration treats them with suspicion and would not even admit them to clerical posts?"

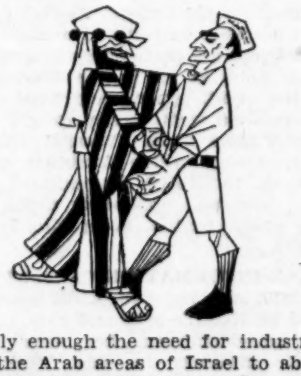
I had heard that some Mapam kibbutzim had tried to train young Arabs to organize their own kibbutzim and modernize their agriculture, but with little success. When I asked him about it, Abdul Aziz shook his head and said: "That's no solution. First of all, the Ben-Gurion government has been steadily taking land away from the Arabs. In the last 13 years it has taken 250,000 acres and the end is not in sight."

I interrupted him to ask: "But doesn't the Administration pay compensation for the land taken?" Abdul Aziz replied: "It does, but that's not the point. The land is not sold voluntarily by the Arabs. Besides, the government sets the amount of compensation. And what will the Arab do with the compensation? Those who lose their land have been farmers, they are not trained to do anything else, and they can do very little else because they are surrounded by restrictions."

HIS SOLUTION: "The Israeli Arab is not immune to modern ideas," Abdul Aziz continued. "Travel by auto from Tel Aviv to Haifa and you will catch glimpses of Arabs tilling the soil by tractors, using chemical fertilizers. But these instances are rare. The Israeli Arab farmer goes his old way, not knowing how long he will have the land he tills."

"Do you have any solution in mind?" I asked.

"Yes," he said. "Land expropriation will have to stop. The military government must be abolished. Restrictions on the movements of the Arabs will have to be lifted. In such cities as Nazareth and Acre, where there are large groups of Arabs, the government should foster industry and train Arabs to man them from top to bottom. I can't emphasize strongly enough the need for industrializing the Arab areas of Israel to absorb the increasing number of landless Arabs and unemployed Arab high school graduates."



"At the same time, of course," he continued, "Israel should announce its intention to take in at least 100,000 Arab refugees and help resettle them in productive occupations. I honestly believe such a program will give Israel a strong base for negotiating with the neighboring Arab states."

MAPAM HELP: I asked him which political parties might support such a program. "The Communists and Mapam already support such a program," he replied. Why did he support the Mapam instead of the Communist party? He said: "Because I find the Communist program unrealistic and the Mapam program more realistic, more attainable. Mapam has already been a great help to us. Mapam, for instance, helped us to join the Histadrut [Israeli Labor Federation], although Ben-Gurion's Mapai has a majority." (Perhaps, following Oriental custom, Abdul Aziz's younger brother did not argue with an older brother. Israeli CP leader Dr. Moshe Snee, in an interview later, denied his party's program for the Arabs was "unrealistic.")

HE'S HOPEFUL: Asked if he knew of the Freedom Riders in America, the Negro sit-in movement for justice and equality for American Negroes, Abdul Aziz said: "Yes, I know about it. But we can't use that method here, for that would require mass Arab-Jewish participation in demonstrations. We have such demonstrations on May Day, for instance, but I doubt if it would be practical here." When I pointed out that Negroes in America initiated the movement and the whites joined afterward, he shook his head and said: "No, the stiuation here is different. Here the Arab-Jewish tension is both an internal and an external problem and needs a different method, a cooperative method."

When I asked him how he felt about the immediate future, he thought for a while and then said quietly: "Hopeful. I think the election setback the Mapai suffered has taught Ben-Gurion a lesson. Even before this election many members of political parties besides Mapam had realized that military rule was hardly the way to turn the Arabs into loyal Israeli citizens. I think the next Knesset, no matter what its composition, will eliminate military rule over the Arabs. Once the Arabs are trusted, further progress would be inevitable."

"I want you to understand," Abdul Aziz added, "most of us Arabs here agree that Israel is the homeland of the Jews. All we want is full equality, first-class instead of second-class citizenship. For, you see, Israel is our homeland, too."

Concert in N.Y. Oct. 29

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY of the Statue of Liberty will be celebrated at the "Concert of Nationalities" of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, at 2 p.m. Oct. 29 at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St., New York City. Tickets are $1.50.

KUMAR GOSHAL

back after a 17-week tour of Africa, India and Israel, will give

A REPORT ON AFRICA

CHICAGO—
Southside—Fri., Oct. 27, 8:30 p.m, 4745 So. Kimbark Av.
Northside—Sat., Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m., 930 Maple Av., Evanston

MINNEAPOLIS—Tues., Oct. 31 7:30 P.M. Andrews Hotel, 4th and Hennepin Av. GUARDIAN 13th Anniv. Party, 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—Fri., Nov. 3 ILWU HALL, 150 Golden Gate; Chmn: Vivian Hallinan. Adm. $1.

OAKLAND—Sun., Nov. 5, 11 a.m. Church of the Fellowship, 411 28th St.

LOS ANGELES—Fri., Nov 10, Institute of Aerospace Sciences, 7660 Beverly Blvd. at Stanley. Adm. $1

DETROIT—Sun., Nov. 26, Jewish Cultural Center, 14864 Schaefer H'way. 7 p.m.

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

SWITCH BY HARLAN AND FRANKFURTER DECISIVE

The decline of the court as a bulwark of liberties

The following article, tracing the retrogression of the Supreme Court in the field of civil liberties since its 1956-1957 term, was written before the court denied on Oct. 9 a rehearing of its June 5 decisions upholding sections of the Internal Security Act and the Smith Act. See related story on page 7.

By Lawrence Emery

IN ITS 1956-1957 term, the Supreme Court handed down 11 decisions in civil liberties cases and every one was favorable. At least seven were of such far-reaching importance that they seemed to undo much of the damage done during the reign of Joe McCarthy; all reasserted the constitutional protection of individual freedoms against government control.

Since then every one of the 1956-1957 rulings has been limited in its application, restricted in scope, or entirely nullified. The change was brought about by a shift in attitude by Justices Felix Frankfurter and John Marshall Harlan. In 1956-1957, Frankfurter was with the majority in all but one case; Harlan dissented in only two. Their change of votes since then has brought about the present 5-4 division of the court in civil liberties cases. The newest member of the court, Potter Stewart, has apparently not aligned himself solidly with either group; in recent cases he has switched sides, making his vote the decisive one.

THE BIG QUESTION: For liberals and progressives, the top question when the court began its fall term on Oct. 2 was: Which way will it go? But no observer familiar with the court's ways would dare a prediction.

The docket is crowded with 1,050 cases, an all-time high. Chief among those in the civil liberties field will be the court's reconsideration of its June 5 5-4 decisions upholding that section of the Internal Security Act of 1950 demanding that the Communist Party register itself with the government as an agency of a foreign power and list its membership, and affirming a clause in the Smith Act making "knowing" membership in the CP a crime.

In addition, several contempt-of-Congress cases involving the First Amendment will be heard or ruled upon. The doctrine of the majority in these cases, enunciated by Harlan, is that "where First Amendment rights are asserted to bar governmental interrogation, resolution of the issue always involves a balancing by the courts of the competing private and public interests at stake in the particular circumstances shown." Justice Hugo Black has written that "to apply the court's balancing test . . . is closely akin to the notion that neither the First Amendment nor any other provision of the Bill of Rights should be enforced unless the court believes it **reasonable** to do so." He holds that the balancing theory "is steadily sacrificing individual freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition to governmental control."

SIT-IN CASE: The court this term will have before it for the first time the legal issues involved in the Southern sit-in demonstrations. During the week of Oct. 16 it will hear the appeal of 16 Negroes arrested during a lunch-counter sit-in in Baton Rouge, La.

In its last term the court handed down 120 decisions with written opinions; of these 54, or 45%, were in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties. An analysis of 50 of these cases by the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress found 27 of them decided favorably and 23 unfavorably. The court split 5-4 in 15 of the 50 cases. Fifteen unanimous decisions were all unfavorable. A further breakdown shows:

Of 16 decisions in internal security cases, six were favorable; of 10 freedom of expression cases, five favorable; the one immigration and nationality case before the court was decided unfavorably; of 18 other cases involving civil liberties, 11 decisions were unfavorable.

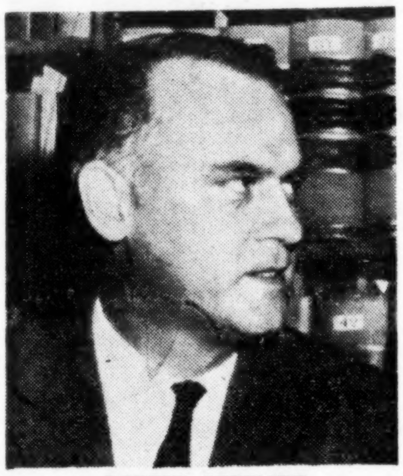
The five civil rights cases before the court were all decided favorably.

In two cases of contempt of court Stewart voted to uphold the convictions in a 5-4 split; in another case he joined the dissenters to upset the conviction. He wrote the majority opinion in all three cases.

MAJOR CASES: The following cases show how the high mark set in the 1956-1957 term has been lowered:

In **Watkins, 6-1,** the majority held that Congress's power to investigate "cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be an invasion of the private rights of individuals." Two years later in **Barenblatt, 5-4,** it was held that the First Amendment did not protect a person who refused to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities if he was a communist. Harlan, who was with the majority in **Watkins,** wrote the majority opinion in **Barenblatt.** Since **Barenblatt** the court has upheld every contempt of Congress conviction except one, and that came when Stewart switched his vote.

In **Sweezy, 6-2,** the court held that a New Hampshire witch-hunt invaded a citizen's right of "political privacy." This was changed when the court, 5-4, upheld the conviction of Willard Uphaus who appeared before the same New Hampshire investigator.



POTTER STEWART
Pivot in a split court

In **Yates, 6-1,** convictions under the Smith Act were reversed on the ground that the defendants had engaged only in advocacy of "abstract principle" and not advocacy designed to "instigate action" in overthrowing the government.

This was overturned last June when the court upheld the conviction, 5-4, of Junius Scales for "knowing" membership in the CP. Harlan wrote the majority opinion in both cases.

BAR EXCLUSION: in **Konigsberg,** 5-3, the court held that a state could not exclude from the bar an applicant who refused to tell the bar examiners if he was a member of the CP. On a second round to the court last term, Konigsberg lost, 5-4, and a similar case of exclusion from the bar in Chicago was upheld.

In **Jencks** the court ruled that a defendant in a criminal case had the right to examine reports made to the government before trial by witnesses against him. A Congressional act limiting the ruling has siince been rigorously applied by the court.

In **Nelson,** 6-3, the court ruled that prosecution under state sedition laws was barred by the Smith Act. In **Uphaus** the court ruled that the Nelson decision barred only state activity aimed at subverting the Federal government and did not deprive the states of the right to protect themselves.

In **Slochower,** 5-4, the court set aside the dismissal of a New York college professor because he had invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee. But in 1960 the court, 5-3, upheld the dismissal of a Los Angeles city employee for refusing to answer questions before a House committee hearing.

Since these decisions, the 5-4 division of the court has hardened.

FRANKFURTER VIEW: A hint of things to come may be found in recent opinions written by Frankfurter. In **Sweezy,** where the defendant had been questioned about his relations with the Progressive Party, Frankfurter wrote: "Whatever, on the basis of massive proof and in the light of history, of which this court may well take judicial notice, be the justification for not regarding the Communist Party as a conventional political party, no such justification has been afforded in regard to the Progressive Party . . . This precludes the questioning that petitioner (Sweezy) resisted in regard to that party."

This suggests that in Frankfurter's mind constitutional protections do not extend to communists. In the Uphaus case, in which the court ruled adversely, the questioning was not about Progressives but about communists.

In the June ruling upholding the requirement that the CP register under the Internal Security Act, Frankfurter referred to Congressional findings of a "world-wide communist conspiracy" and wrote: "It is not for the courts to reexamine the validity of these legislative findings and reject them."

Throughout the course of this part of the court's history, the majority has shown itself to be responsive to pressures from the right, both in and out of Congress. It would seem that only comparable pressure from liberal and progressive circles might bring about a shift in the present 5-4 division.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE RIGHTS ASSEMBLY WITCH-HUNT

The HUAC hearing: An expensive fizzle

By John T. McManus

THE TWO DAYS of hearings conducted Oct. 2-3 by the House Un-American Activities Committee into newly organized activities against the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) turned out to be an expensive fizzle.

The Committee brought 16 witnesses to Washington from as far off as Chicago and Minneapolis, including a Cleveland police sergeant whom it apparently engaged to stalk a Greyhound busload of Clevelanders to a New York hotel on Sept. 22; and surrounded itself with reams of photostated material, all of a public nature, dealing with the National Assembly for Democratic Rights held in New York Sept. 23-24 and with committees in New York and elsewhere which mobilized for the two-day Assembly.

But despite a well-attended press table, the hearings got perfunctory press coverage or none at all in the Washington and New York papers; and what headlines resulted went mostly to a recalcitrant witness from Chicago, Richard Criley, one of whose forebears turned out to be, to HUAC's discomfiture, Giles Corey, who was pressed to death with heavy stones by the Salem witchhunters of 1692.

LITTLE INFORMATION: Except for the Cleveland cop and two young men who served as HUAC's eyes and ears at current anti-McCarran Act (and anti-HUAC) meetings in New York and Washington, all the subpenaed people challenged the Committee's legislative purpose in the inquiry and refused to answer questions on the formation and activities of the organizations under fire. Guided by counsel, including a battery of lawyers assigned by the American Civil Liberties Union, the witnesses used both the First and Fifth Amendments for the most part. None was threatened with citation for contempt.

The Committee's lack of legislative purpose became apparent in the opening statement of its chairman, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), which declared its purpose to be "to keep Congress informed of the extent, character and objectives of Communist propaganda activities in the U.S. that it may be perpared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security." Since such legislation would be a counterpart to the McCarran Act, HUAC's purpose was thus fairly frankly stated to be that of exposure, a purpose ruled out by the Watkins decision of the Supreme Court.

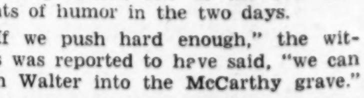
ROUGH ON WALTER: Walter chaired the hearing at the start of each of the two days, later leaving the job to Rep. William M. Tuck (D-Va.). The other congressmen in attendance were all Republicans, Donald C. Bruce, Ind.; August E. Johansen, Mich.; Henry C. Schadelberg, Wis.; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio. Scherer, who was exposed as a member of the John Birch Society (and who was at one point called Mr. Birch by a riled-up witness) tried to inject some inquisitional fire into the proceedings, but for the most part was expertly squelched. Once, when he complained of overhearing over the microphone attorney Joseph Forer advise a witness how to answer, he found himself under a stern admonition from Forer to stop eavesdropping. When he tried to browbeat another witness with the term "incriminate" in connection with the Fifth Amendment, the witness reminded him that the Amendment referred not to incrimination, but solely to being a witness against one's self.

"In a criminal proceeding," Chairman Walter added, filling out the wording of the Amendment.

"Well," the witness replied, "if there ever was a criminal proceeding, this one is!"

PRIVATE EAR: Another exchange involving Walter brought to light the close working relationship between HUAC and radio commentator Fulton Lewis Jr., whose son "Buddy" is a HUAC aide. The evening prior to the Oct. 2 hearing a reception for the witnesses was held at a private home in Washington. During the hearing William Schultz, of the Fulton Lewis staff, was called to testify to remarks made at the reception, which he had attended as "a student from Antioch."

The reported remark by a prospective witness produced one of the few moments of humor in the two days.



"If we push hard enough," the witness was reported to have said, "we can push Walter into the McCarthy grave."

"That remark," said Walter, who has announced his retirement after his present term, "might make me reconsider and run for election again."

Back in a far corner of the hearing room there was a patter of applause from a small group around Fulton Lewis III (Buddy), but Walter did not sound at all as if he meant it; rather he sounded like a man who would welcome abolition to private life.

CP to fight order to register by Nov. 18

ON OCTOBER 9 the Supreme Court refused to reconsider its 5-4 decision of last June 5 affirming after an 11-year fight an order of the Subversive Activities Control Board directing the Communist Party to register as a subversive organization under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act.) A stay of effectuation of the Act had been in force since June, to allow the Court to consider a petition for rehearing in its October term.

McCARRAN
ACT

The Court's Oct. 9 action set in motion a timetable making the registration order final on Oct. 19, with a requirement for compliance within 30 days, or by Nov. 18. Under the order, if the national CP or its officers fail to register, the onus for registration falls on all branches, fractions and cells of the Party.

However the CP, in a statement signed by Gus Hall, general secretary, said that the Court's decision left it "with the responsibility to test the constitutionality of every provision and every effort to implement and apply the anti-American McCarran act—to refuse to register and to continue to battle for peace, the interests of the working people and the constitutional rights of the Negro people as it has in the 42 years of its honorable existence."

Years of legal action seemed to lie ahead in litigation of the various constitutional points which the Supreme Court minority in June contended should be judged by the Court before considering the application of the Act. These include the Fifth Amendment rights of individuals who by registering or perhaps even by refusing to register would bring themselves into peril of indictment under the portion of the 1940 Smith Act making CP membership a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment. This part of the Smith Act was affirmed too on June 5, also by a 5-4 Supreme Court decision, which has since resulted in the imprisonment of former CP leader Junius Scales.

Other requirements of the McCarran Act scheduled for challenge are those forbidding passports to CP members and barring them from jobs in any defense facility. The Party would also be required to register printing presses and even mimeograph machines and to label all mailed literature as coming from a Communist-action organization.

The CP's statement expressed confidence that, once aroused to the far-reaching implications of the Act, the American people would defeat it, as their forebears did the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798.

THE U.S. TALKS PEACE AND TRAINS SOLDIERS

A neutral Laos? Pro-Western troops await end of the rains

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING

WHEN Averell Harriman, acting head of the United States delegation to the Geneva Conference on Laos, returning last month after a Washington briefing, told newsmen that "fighting will not resume in Laos after the rains," this was intended to soothe the American people and probably did. People who know Laos felt those words should be tagged like the fly-pages of novels: "Any resemblance to any real character or event is unintended and coincidental."

The same tag should be put on President Kennedy's frequent assertion that he wants an "independent, neutral Laos" and on Harriman's many statements that "the U.S. is ready to remove its military personnel."

[Since the filing of this story, there have been significant developments in the Laos situation. On Oct. 8, neutralist Souvanna Phouma was chosen to be premier of a new provisional coalition government, pending a mandate from King Savang Vanthana. This coincided with reports (N. Y. **Times**, Oct. 8) that the U.S. was considering sending troops to Southeast Asia.]

Every step of the way to a neutral, independent Laos is being fought by the Kennedy regime. Roving ambassador Harriman knows this. He also knows, when he says "fighting will not resume in Laos," that fighting has never stopped in Laos; that all through the four summer months of the rains and of the Geneva talks, while Washington recessed the conference many times to check on the cease-fire, the CIA was airlifting commandos with American officers to strategic points far in the rear of "liberated areas" which they wanted to seize.

CIA GRAB: The Padong incident last May was the most spectacular of these. It began with Western press stories on the wickedness of the Pathet Lao for "using artillery on Padong," thus breaking the cease-fire"; the U.S. delegation used the incident to recess the Geneva talks for four days. The U.S. press, in attacking the Pathet Lao, also told how American pilots were transporting supplies across "Communist-held territory" to help "10,000 husky Meo fighters." Some readers must have wondered why artillery was wicked, while flights over Pathet Lao territory weren't.

When the facts came out, the American delegation in Geneva was crestfallen. The CIA had tried to grab a mountain commanding the Plain of Jars through a deal with a Meo tribal chief whose village was near an airstrip. The CIA flew in commandos with U.S. officers; some of the Meos joined the raiders and others resisted, and called on province authorities for help against these "bandits who burn our village, rape our wonen and press-gang our men." The Pathet Lao sent part of its "Meo battalion" and restored order at the cost of ten casualties. Those "10,000 husky Meo fighters" were invented by the press. The U.S. delegation worried chiefly over the missing CIA agents, whose fate remains unknown.

ARMS FLOW: Padong was only one sample. These CIA raids into the deep rear of the "liberated areas" were many and still persist. They had nuisance value, but strategically they may have helped the Pathet Lao by making peasants hate Americans. But far more serious for the future was the steady inflow of arms and troops through Vientiane to the fronts in preparation for dry weather in October.

The extent of the collapse of Gen. Phoumi Nosavan's pro-American forces last spring was indicated in a mid-September report of the Laos negotiations. While both sides announced a cease-fire on May 3, and the International Control Commission confirmed this date as de facto, no formal cease-fire agreement has been obtained in four months' talks. One reason is that the pro-American troops want to date the "cease-fire" from April 25. This indicates the considerable territory they lost in the eight days to May 3 which they seek to get back in talks.

Washington desperately needed a cease-fire to reform, retrain, expand and re-equip pro-U.S. troops. In the last four months this has been done. Nosavan's rather unwilling Laotians have been reorganized, trained in Thailand, furnished with new weapons and also stiffened with Thais, South Vietnamese, Filipinos and those Kuomintang stragglers who came into Laos from Burma.

20 BATTALIONS: During August and September the Voice of Laos complained about increasing numbers of Thai and Kuomingtang troops, and said more than 20 battalions of Nosavan's forces, including foreign groups, were on the battlefronts, "mopping up" villages and probing "liberated areas." In early September a warrant officer who deserted to the Prince Souvanna Phouma forces reported he had been working in the "liaison office" in Vientiane that was run by U.S. major-general with six U.S. officers as assistants, plus 13 Thai officers, 16 Filiino officers, five South Vietnamese officers and five Kuomingtang officers, all handling the influx and transferring to the front their national troops.

3 OF THE '10,000 HUSKY MEO FIGHTERS'
The fact of a Laos incident embarrassed the CIA

More important was the military display Sept. 10 in Vientiane, reportedly the largest in the Royal Laotian army's history, at which Nosavan boasted that his troops were now in position to take back all the territory lost last winter and that, "once started," a civil war in Laos would be "internationalized."

Harriman has no intention of permitting a "neutral Laos," or any kind of Laos other than one under Washington's control. He insists the U.S. is willing to take its military forces out of Laos, but adds, "as soon as proper control is set up."

Harriman demands "control by the International Commission" consisting of India, Canada and Poland, whose powers and duties are yet to be defined. This is the main point on which the Geneva conference has been stuck for four months.

CONFLICTING VIEWS: The idea of the socialist countries, most of the neutrals and all the Laotians is that the Commission should "help" the Laotian government police whatever cease-fire agreement the three sides in Laos adopt, and whatever withdrawal of foreign troops the Geneva conference decides upon.

Harriman's idea is that the commission should have agencies all over Laos, even without consent of the Laotian government; should make a census of all armed forces, control reorganization of the Laotian army, and have rights of inspection on all planes, vehicles and rivercraft in Laos. He wants, in short, an international police force above the government of Laos, but controllable by Washington through the votes of India and Canada.

Failing to get this in Geneva, Harriman flew to Rangoon and Laos to confer with Prince Phouma and Prince Boun Oum about a coalition government. He reportedly told Phouma he "could not accept" him as premier unless half of the cabinet ministers were men suggested by Washington.

TROOPS WAIT: Since the Pathet Lao is the strongest political force in Laos, Harriman is not likely to get his way either in Geneva or by pressure on Prince Phouma.

So Nosavan's troops wait. They form probably the strongest and most international armed force ever seen in Laos. They wait for the end of the rains this month and the word from Washington. And Harriman's words "fighting will not resume" are probably intended for sweet soothing and not for fact.

A Korean-type war is possible, but would probably aim only at taking the southern half of Laos, which Washington wants as part of its communication lines against China.

Chicago Jewish clubs to hold concert Oct. 21

A CONCERT by the Jewish People's Choral Society will be a feature of the opening session of the annual conference of the Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago at 8 p.m. Oct. 21, at the Fine Arts Bldg., 416 S. Michigan Ave. Students of the Albany Park Jewish Children's School will present songs and recitations.

George Sandler of New York will speak.

Williams interview

(Continued from Page 1)

ed into mine. It failed to overturn me and the mob screamed: 'Kill the niggers, pour gas on the niggers!' Police who were 50 feet away refused to come to my aid. Some of the mob had guns and the leader approached my car with a baseball bat. They didn't know we were armed too. The police ordered us to surrender our arms and we refused. A councilman, fearing that whites might get hurt, told the police chief to open the highway, and he let us through saying: 'If you hurt any of these white people, I'm going to kill you.' I said that if they attacked us they were going to be hurt.

"A week later some KKK's—one a National Guard officer—passed my home firing guns at it, and the volunteers we had posted there fired back. When I reported this the police said I was lying. Then Willie Strand, an Afro-American, was dragged from his car and beaten up in the woods. I reported it to the FBI and they said it wasn't a Federal matter.

GENERAL ATTACK: "At my invitation Freedom Riders, both white and Negro, came down to observe the brutality under which we live. On August 26 our people were attacked all over Monroe; one Freedom Rider was shot and another beaten; a boy of 10 was beaten and trampled underfoot by three whites who thought he was my son.

"So I phoned the U.S. Justice Dept. in Washington and asked for Atty. Gen. [Robert] Kennedy. He was 'busy' so I filed a complaint with the FBI, who again said it was a 'local matter.' I called the state Governor; his assistant came on the phone and said: 'Do you mean you're not dead yet? You're getting just what you deserve.'

"On Sunday the 27th 5,000 racists massed in Monroe with banners saying 'Rob Loves Cuba,' 'Rob Is as Bad as Khrushchev.' Fifty of our pickets were beaten on the courthouse square; three were young teen-age girls, whose hands police held so the mob could beat them till they fell. Many were taken to jail. Police had to release criminals to make room for them. A man who came from the jail said people were bleeding to death in there. I called the police chief and gave him 30 minutes to give them medical attention; if not we would march on the police station. He got scared, sent them to a hospital and called the Governor to send troops.

"There was gunfire all over town and armed bands drove through my street. Two KKK's, Mr. and Mrs. Stegall, got stuck in the crowd near my house and the people wanted to kill them. I said no. The woman wanted me to lead them through the crowd. I wouldn't, but when I started into my house she and her husband followed, hoping for protection. I told her my people were not half as brutal as hers—if two of ours had been caught by hers they'd be dead by then. She thanked me for letting them into the house.

HIS FLIGHT: "People phoned that troops were coming, and police sealed off my block with street barricades. The people decided I should leave and not be captured. We got the children and left. A friend drove us to New York, where it was all over the TV and radio that I was very dangerous, wanted for kidnaping (the Stegalls) and believed heading for Canada. The FBI issued a warrant for my arrest as a fugitive from justice."

Questioned about whether, in the Negro struggle for justice, "violence should be met with violence" or peaceful means used—Williams said: "I believe in both. I have friends in the struggle who are pacifists but I am not a pacifist." He spoke warmly of the New York committee to defend victims of the Monroe terror, some of whom may face life in prison.

"I hope," he concluded, "to reach more of my people in future by radio from here. What is my message to them? The fact that we were saved so many times by arms means they must rely on arms to defend their homes and families. The Afro-American's fight is not in Cuba, not in Germany, not in Asia — but in the United States."

Wilkinson and Braden lose plea for parole

PAROLE APPLICATIONS of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, sentence to one year for contempt of Congress for refusal to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, have been denied.

In his application Wilkinson said it was contrary to the First Amendment of the Constitution "that any citizen, including me, should be confined as a political prisoner."

Wilkinson stressed his work for abolition of the HUAC and said that if paroled he would return to his employment at the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms and the National Committee to Abolish HUAC.

HAPPY 'EXILE': HULDAH CLARK, NEWARK, N.J., NEGRO, IN MOSCOW
The 14-year-old American greets her new classmates in the Soviet Union, where her father believes she will be better educated.

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BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

Have You Read Neal on Berlin?

(If not, you haven't been reading your mail lately.)

In January, 1959, when we of Liberty Book Club were introducing our Prometheus Paperbacks, we sent every **GUARDIAN** reader an advance copy of our first Prometheus book, C. Wright Mills' **The Power Elite.** To be successful, we had to have a return of 30% and all our Madison Ave. friends said we were mad indeed; that a 2% or 3% return was considered high in commercial ventures. Well, we got a 35% return, 20% signing up for the new book club and another 15% paying a dollar for the book. That's how Prometheus Paperbacks were launched. (By the way, if you are one who didn't respond, don't bother to send the book back, but we could use the dollar if you thought the book was worth it.)

This fall we sent you another such unsolicited mailing—Prof. Fred Warner Neal's remarkable analysis of the Berlin situation, **War and Peace and the Problem of Berlin,** plus a copy of **Cuba vs. the CIA,** by Robert E. Light and Carl Marzani. Because of their timeliness, we looked for a quicker and bigger return by far than we've had thus far. In full confidence that it is the beguiling Indian summer weather, and not apathy, that is delaying your response, we are waiting to hear from you. Won't you please look over our mailing, with its four alternatives, and act on one of them this week. By the way, Prof. Neal's Berlin pamphlet is available in bulk at ten for $1 100 for $8. It can win most of your Berlin arguments for you. Try it!

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BOOKS

A novel is born

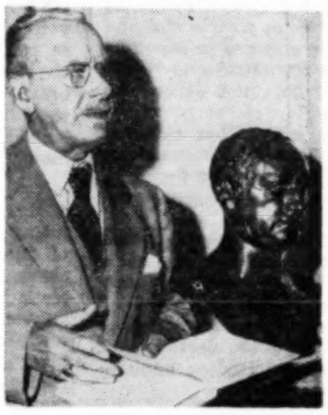
THOMAS MANN'S **The Story of a Novel,*** first published in 1949 as **Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus** (The Genesis of Doctor Faustus, now its English subtitle), is a running documentary with interspersed diary notes on the writing of his most difficult work. It was hardest for the author, no less than for the reader, since it was written during the war, in exile, with alternating love for his native land and hate for the devils who had seized it. Pride and guilt contend in the essayistic novel of the German composer Adrian Leverkuhn, whose pact with the Prince of Coldness (the concept is Mann's) raised him to icy creative heights, then drove him into delirium.

Like his hero, Mann explored the ranges and mines of culture to find some answer, or rather an explanation for what had befallen his country. He seemed to be wrestling with an all-too-plausible generalization about the German people which separated them from the rest of humanity. As early as 1870, Giuseppe Verdi had called the Germans "a people of intellect without heart." To make matters worse, the best of that intellect had been driven out or wiped out. It is no wonder that Mann should have been tempted by the theme of demonic possession to serve as an image of the Third Reich (just as in 1930, in "Mario and the Magician," he had used the metaphor of hypnotism for Mussolini's rule over Italy).

ONE MUST READ **Dr. Faustus** to grasp the magnitude of Mann's effort as well as the variety of experience it encompasses. **The Story of a Novel** shows how complex are the uses to which an artist puts whatever he thinks, reads or lives through in the course of creation, and the uncanny way things have of falling across the path of research. Often an idea will send him browsing or digging for books; at other times a passage in a volume picked up by chance, the visit of a child, a newspaper item, will start a train of thought or produce a character whose presence will seem later to have been inevitable. But the overmastering conception was pretty much predetermined by Mann; his aim was, as he says, "to write nothing less than the novel of my era, disguised as the story of an artist's life, a terribly imperiled and sinful artist."

The project seems impossible of attainment by its very nature, as I believe it proved to be in practice. To tell just why would require a critique of the novel. In Mann's notes, we do have some of his own worries about the book. At one point he is concerned lest he be creating a new German myth, "flattering the Germans with their demonism." At another, he fears that the reflections may seem too sententious; he will therefore make the narrator the subject of "as much anti-self-important mockery as possible." Before beginning, he is aware that "much full-bodied reality is needed, and for that there is a deficiency of concrete observation." But at no time does he question whether fascism can be described in terms of a mythical destiny or as a destructive phase of intellectual history.

YET HOW MUCH he put into the attempt! He ignored no material fact in his investigation of the doomed soul, whether it be a step in the prognosis of meningitis or paresis, or the number of a Munich trolley line. Biography and literature provided him with equal inspiration, as did Nietzsche's indirect proposals to women and Shakespeare's theme of treacherous wooing for the episode of Adrian's courtship via Rudi Schwertfeger. If one has never got musically beyond note-reading and yet captures some of the quality of Leverkuhn's quartet and apocalyptic oratorio, this is due to Mann's persistent creative inquiry into the nature of contemporary music, the 12-tone system, etc., and his conversations with such authorities as Stravinsky, Schoenberg, the conductor Klemperer, the pianist Schnabel, the theoretician Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno. Then there were the get-togethers with other exiled writers, musicians and scholars to whom Mann would read his work-in-progress for discussion.



THOMAS MANN
In exile in 1950

Such gatherings were apparently customary in Mann's circle; here they helped preserve a mental vigor likely to degenerate into bickering and indifference among exiles. It is noteworthy, for example, that Mann, a fervent admirer of Roosevelt, whom he called "that patrician friend of the people," was aware long before the war's end of the intent of powerful forces in the U.S. to join with their counterparts in England and France to convert defeated Germany into a rearmed camp of revenge-seekers turned against the Soviet Union. "Victorious but hopeless," he notes in his journal after the crossing of the Rhine. "The victory will be squandered worse than last time." He saw the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb as a political act: "I say 'political' because the victory over Japan could have been achieved entirely without the uncanny weapon. It had been used only to prevent Russia's participation in this victory . . ."

MANN, TOO, was a patrician democrat. He did not apply his dialetical insight, which served him so well in his meditations on the development of music, to an analysis of the politico-economic roots of fascism. Yet there are more than hints in the **Faustus** novel that he understood that, barring man's destruction, a world and art might come into being, different from the divided world and problematical art of today. The vision is especially poignant because it is projected by the austere composer whose work expresses the peaks and depths of alienation. Leverkuhn is speaking of the possibility of a breakdown from intellectual coldness into a touch-and-go world of new feeling. He says: "The whole temper of art, believe me, will change, and withal into the blither and more modest; it is inevitable and it is a good thing. Much melancholy ambition will fall away from her, and a new innocence, yes, harmlessness, will be hers. The future will see in her, she will once more see in herself, the servant of a community which will comprise far more than 'education' and will not have culture but will perhaps be a culture. We can only with difficulty imagine such a thing; and yet it will be, and be the natural thing: an art without anguish, psychologically healthy, not solemn, unsadly confiding, an art **per du** with humanity."

Is it too far-fetched to link the foregoing passage with a sentence in the diary of the 19th Century dramatist Friedrich Hebbel, to which Mann applies the, for him, unusual adjective, "great": "Previous history has only grasped the idea of eternal justice; the future will have to apply it"?

—Charles Humboldt

**THE STORY OF A NOVEL:* The Genesis of Doctor Faustus, *by Thomas Mann. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 242 pp. $4.*

Yiddish life in America

A COLLECTION of 60 short stories and sketches translated from the Yiddish about the life of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is offered in **The New Country.*** Most of the material is a record of direct, immediate experience, and is therefore shorn of the glamor of the usual folklore versions passed on by one's elders. These stories have the force of authenticity. They present a chronicle of a time of struggle which up to now was known to the English reading public only in novels such as Mike Gold's **Jews Without Money** and Abraham Cahan's **Rise of David Levinsky.** This volume is social history, the visible roots of a people meeting a new order head on, being influenced by it and influencing it in their turn. First steps toward the organization of garment workers, the developing left movement, the religious and social struggles all appear here. The customer peddler, the sweatshop worker, the "Americanized" relatives, the enterpreneur and the schlemiel, the landlady and the sensitive misfit are part of the cast. As a sociological record the stories are invaluable. As literature, most of them are minor efforts.

THERE ARE some exceptions. The volume contains a group of stories by Sholem Aleichem that this reviewer has not seen translated anywhere else; and they alone are worth the price of admission. Some of the satires, **"Chaim as a Citizen," by Tashrak, and "Why the Taracans Are My Enemies," by Zalmon Libin; "His Brother's Check" and "Trip to America," by Abraham Raisin,** and a handful of others are satisfying works of art. The rest have certain qualities—humor or innocence or nostalgia—but most lack even the most elementary sense of responsibility for form. In his introduction the editor points out that the authors were "impatient of literary artifice or subtlety or were indeed incapable of them," but he justifies the lack because of the importance of the stories. Unfortunately, several moving stories ineptly told.

A SUBWAY ADVENTURE: *This is one of the photographs by Sy Katzoff illustrating Barbara Brenner's book,* Barto Takes the Subway. *The story, for children from 7 to 10, tells of a young Puerto Rican's first underground ride in New York. It is published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York.*

In spite of these faults, the book has a place in the library of those who would have a first-hand account of some of the problems of a period in American life that does not appear in Henry James or Frank Norris or Theodore Dreiser. The Yiddish Kultur Farband has performed a most useful service.

—Ruth Kronman

**THE NEW COUNTRY, stories from the Yiddish about life in America. Selected, translated, and with an introduction by Henry Goodman. YKUF Publishers, 189 Second Av., N.Y.C. 250 pp. $4.75.*

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue.) 29072.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of Sept., 1961.
FAY KAHN, Notary Public.
My comm. expires Mar. 30, 1963.

BOOKS

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Syria Rightist coup

(Continued from Page 1)

threats. Seeking protection against both Turkey and its own left-moving populace, Syria's economic ruling class joined with the liberal anti-Communist Baath Party in urging Egypt's Nasser to form a unified state with Syria.

QUICK REACTION: On Feb. 1, 1958, this thinly cemented union of two parts separated by 150 miles of Israeli and Jordan territory came into being. It took no longer for the paradox of conservative classes under the protective wing of a revolutionary regime to produce an open clash than it took for the Egyptian social revolution to roll in earnest over Syria. When it did, the military coup d'etat exploded as swiftly, as it has so often elsewhere.

The insurrection came just two months after a series of sweeping new UAR "decrees imposing income taxes and nationalizing banks, insurance companies and other companies (and) steps toward land reform," as the AP reported, which "disgruntled business and professional men" and "antagonized landowners." In an editorial the New York **Times** called it a "right-wing revolt" stemming from "the dislike and fear, on the part of Syrian business, banking, landowning and political elements, of the newly emphasized socialism that President Nasser put into effect . . ."

Installed as civilian head of the new junta regime was a law professor named Mahmoun Al-Kuzbari, member of a wealthy landowning and commercial family and "an expert on real estate and property rights," according to the **Times.** He was vice president under Col. Adib Shishekly, the Syrian dictator overthrown in 1954. A political protege of the dictator, Kuzbari headed Shishekly's nationalist Arab Liberation Party. Though for popular consumption Kuzbari was quick to declare that Syria would remain "neutralist" in its foreign policy, his 12-man Cabinet, composed mainly of bankers and businessmen, was described by AP as "decidedly pro-Western," and the insurrection was recognized at once by Turkey, Jordan, Taiwan, Guatemala and Iran. The U.S. and its NATO allies were set to recognize shortly.

IN 1960: UAR PRESIDENT NASSER RESPONDS TO DAMASCUS CHEERS
With him were Marshal Amer (left) and former Syrian President Kuwatly

MANY GRIEVANCES: Under the impact of gradual Egyptianization of Syria's political, military and government establishment, there were many Syrian grievances. Nasser had been turning union into virtual Egyptian absorption of Syria, and this policy had led two days before the coup to the angry resignation in Cairo of Col. Abdel Hamid Serraj, the strongman of the former leftist army leadership and, as a long-time pro-Nasserite, one of the few Syrians remaining in a top post—that of vice president—in the UAR government. Lebanese papers said the rebels had used the resignation as an opportunity to stage a coup without bloodshed, but the left-wing Serraj was promptly arrested and jailed by the new junta.

The grievances, however—except for a three-year drought that could not be blamed on the Egyptians—were not those of the Syrian laboring classes, which showed no enthusiasm for the break with Cairo. A Western diplomat who witnessed the coup told the Baltimore **Sun** correspondent in Beirut, Lebanon, that he had seen nothing of the large anti-Nasser demonstration reported on Radio Damascus and that pro-Nasser expressions had been quickly suppressed. "He heard very little criticism of Nasser," Paul A. Banker, of the **Sun** wrote, "and none at all from the working classes. All the working people still admire Nasser and feel that he is trying to do something for them."

FIGHT AVERTED: Nasser, again showing the restraint he had adopted in the face of the British-French-Israeli invasion of Suez in 1956, pointedly refused to fight. He sent a force of paratroopers to the Syrian port of Latakia with instructions not to shoot at their "brother Arabs," and when the first 100 to land were fired upon, he called off the project immediately. Egypt and Syrian troops had been integrated to form the First Army, and Nasser made no move to activate it against the rebellion.

Appearing to sense that the long-range prospects were on his side, that he could win the "war" though losing the battle—an estimate that proved notably correct in the Suez case—Nasser castigated the "reactionary imperialist" rebels, appealed to the Syrian people to insist on maintenance of their social and economic gains, and stressed in his radio broadcasts that the revolution had "long-reaching aims and does not depend on events of the hour."

"I am sure," he said, "that this experiment of the United Arab Republic is not the last . . . The history of the Arab nation is long, and the struggle continues."

Nasser promised not to oppose a Syrian application for readmittance as a separate state to the UN and the Arab League, but he refused recognition of the new regime unless and until it was approved by plebiscite or elections by the people. Kuzbari promised parliamentary elections soon.

THE NEW LAWS: What had precipitated the counter-revolution was a set of new laws in July and August that, almost 10 years after the Nasser revolt, finally set in motion the swing to a socialized society Nasser had long planned and promised. "The overthrow of King Farouk in 1952 was merely a coup d'etat, not a revolution," a Nasser adviser told the **Times'** Jay Walz in Cairo about these laws. "Now comes the revolution."

Under these decrees more than 80% of business and industry is to be nationalized and much of the rest will be under a large degree of government control as the result of continuing government investment. Agriculture will also be controlled, though not state owned, through a system of cooperatives, and in furtherance of the land reform, maximum individual land ownership is reduced to 100 acres. Salaries are limited, taxes on big incomes raised drastically and correspondingly reduced for the poor, and wages and hours improved. Other laws compel many of the well-to-do to disclose the extent of their wealth, introduce 25% profit-sharing for employees and place workers on all corporate boards of directors.

"The elements that engineered" the Sept. 28 coup, said the **Times,** "were the chief sufferers in the wave of economic decrees." What Nasser hadn't bargained on was that he did not have the means to keep the powerful "sufferers" in Syria under control, as he had in Egypt.

Sheltered Love

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Our home is blessed by New York's Gov.
Come underground, my little sweet,
And share with me my 12 square feet.
For we will lie beneath our bed
While bombs go bursting overhead
And drop their gifts of strontium—
But not on us, my sugar plum!
What though the rivers run to rust
And clouds release atomic dust,
What though no trace of man be found?
We'll never know it underground!
All snug and warm, we'll toast our feet
On cheery cans of Sterno heat.
You'll darn my socks while I peruse
Old copies of the "Daily News."
Each meal we will a banquet make
Of pills and prunes and powdered steak.
We'll improvise in all respects—
And find some substitute for sex.
We'll have a nest for two—or three—
(A tiny mutant on thy knee)
And I shall cry thee, "Mazel Tov!"—
So come with me and be my love!
Ban the bomb.

—Fire Island **News**

Position of integrity

SENATOR Stuart Symington seldom fails to amaze us. He was quoted as saying on a television program last week that the Soviet Union's resumption of nuclear testing has been costly to Khrushchev's "position of integrity" in the eyes of neutralists. We imagine he is right. But this is the same self-made Senator Symington who for weeks has been demanding that the United States do exactly what Khrushchev did—resume nuclear tests. How can he possibly believe that an act which damages the Soviet "position of integrity" could have been done by the United States without having the same results for us?

—An editorial in the
St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, Sept. 11

A peace note from Bufano to Khrushchev

Following are excerpts of a letter to Soviet Premier Khrushchev from the noted San Francisco sculptor Beniamino Bufano.

MY Dear Friend Khrushchev: I address the following words to you, not in anger, but in sadness. Not as an enemy, but as a friend. Not as a stranger, but as one who was your guest in Moscow on the 40th anniversary of the Soviet People's revolt against feudalism, oppression and exploitation.

Did we not break bread together? Have I not regarded myself as one who understood and sympathized with your struggle to further uplift the living standards of your people and to lead them further in happiness and prosperity through peace? Do I not know the sacrifice which your people made in the two world wars? Is not the soil of your country red with the blood of tens of millions of your brave countrymen and women who gave their lives that the evils of Nazi Germany should not subjugate and destroy their land?

Yes, I know these things, and because of this knowledge and on behalf of peace-loving peoples of the United States and of the world, I ask what possible considerations cause you to turn back the clock to dark hours? Why have you chosen to renew tests of the indecent nuclear bombs? Why have you reversed your oft-stated position on the evils of radioactive pollution of the earth's atmosphere by nuclear tests, the necessity for which cannot be understood by peace-loving and liberal peoples? You yourself have said that in a thermonuclear war there will be no victors, but all will be victims.

This planet known as earth does not belong to any nation, group of nations, creed, ideology, policy or pretension exclusively. It belongs to all the earth's people; and it is difficult for me to understand why any nation or any group of people could arrogate to themselves the power to institute a series of acts or tests, the reaction to such tests being the inculcation of fear and distrust in the minds of others.

I am told that the recent events have something to do with Berlin and a German peace treaty. If there is a problem, and I don't doubt that there is, the place to resolve it is the United Nations Assembly.

—**Beniamino Bufano**

NEW YORK

Hold the date!

13TH
ANNIVERSARY DINNER
FRIDAY, NOV. 10

In New York

Talk and facts about Laos

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Anna Louise Strong's article on the situation in Laos, on page 7. is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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CALENDAR

BOSTON

JEWISH PEOPLES FORUM — Sunday mornings at 11, Town & Country Club, Morton St., Dorchester. Oct. 22; Arnold Johnson: "Supreme Court & Civil Liberties." Oct. 29, School Comm. Candidates, "What About Boston's Schools?" Nov. 5, Herbert Aptheker: "German Question & Peace." Nov. 12, Scott Nearing: "Economic Outlook for U.S."

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Fri. & Sat., 8 p.m. Sun., 3 p.m.
Russian Arts Club, 2952 North Ave.
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PRE-CONFERENCE CONCERT
of Jewish Cultural Club, Sat., Oct. 21, 8 p.m., Fine Arts Building. Musical program. George Sandler, from N.Y., guest speaker. Admission $1.

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Philadelphia Friends of Guardian
hear **DAVID WESLEY** of York Gazette
on "The Politics of Peace"
Sat. evening, October 21,
home of the Trybutoks, 516 E. Mt. Airy Av. (nr. Stenton Av.) Donation.
Coffee served. — Everyone welcome!

NEW YORK

GALA CONCERT—75th Anniv. Statue of Liberty—**SUN., OCT. 29—2 p.m.** Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48 St., NYC. Sponsor: Amer. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT
A DIET FOR YOUNG PEOPLE
● HOW CAN ONE BE MORAL IN AN IMMORAL SOCIETY? ● WHAT DOES THE RESURGENCE OF THE RIGHT MEAN TO DEMOCRATIC AMERICA? ● CAN THERE BE A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO HISTORICAL STUDY? ● DO THE ENDS JUSTIFY THE MEANS? ● WHY DOES ONE ECONOMIC SYSTEM GIVE WAY TO ANOTHER? ● IS AMERICA A MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIETY?
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Sat., Oct. 14, 7:45
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201 Second Av.
All Welcome Adm. Free

BURNING ISSUES Film Committee presents 2 Outstanding films: Children of the A-Bomb (Hiroshima 3 years later) and Operation Teutonic Sword, the Nazi career of NATO Gen. Speidel. Sun., Oct. 15, 7 p.m., at 67 2nd Av. (entrance on 4 St.) Cont. 75c.

OCT. 17, TUES., 8:15 P.M.
Hotel Beacon, 75 St. & Broadway
DR. OTTO NATHAN speaks on "The Inevitability of Disarmament." Ausp: West Side Peace Committee.

HEAR **RICHARD GARZA ON TV**
Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of N.Y.C. Oct. 15—"Searchlight," 11 a.m.-12, Ch. 4; Oct. 16 "At Your Beck & Call," 8:30 to 10 p.m., Ch. 13.

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The Adult Progressive Press Greets **NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH** on its first birthday and its expansion to 8 pages. Hear: **Hugo Gellert** for Hungarian Word. See: First N.Y. showing 1959 Vienna Youth Festival Film Fri., Oct. 13, 8 p.m., Estonian Hall, 2061 Lexington Av. Cont. Youth 75c, Adults $1.25.

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Sun., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 230 W. 16th St., Apt. 1-A. DA 8-6154, afternoons. Contribution $1.

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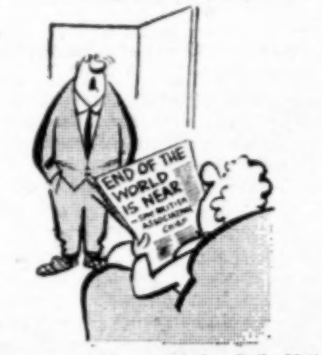
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London Daily Mail

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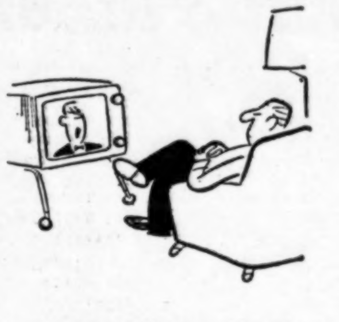
Gurdian Buying Service Saves you $$$—See the Bargains on Page 12

THE GALLERY

WITHOUT A BLUSH, representatives of television's major advertisers admitted at Federal Communications Commission hearings this month that they censor programs to eliminate "controversy" and to insure that big business is shown in a favorable light. It was clear from the hearings why TV had earned the sobriquet "idiot box."

A. N. Halverstadt, general advertising manager of Procter & Gamble, TV's largest advertiser ($100 million a year), said the company distributed a "Program Buying Policy" to advertising agencies and TV producers. The policy specified that dramas should "treat mention of the Civil War carefully" and "in dealing with war, our writers should minimize the 'horror' aspects."

The policy also said: "There will be no material on any of our programs which could in any way further the concept of business as cold, ruthless and lacking all sentiment or spiritual motivations. If a businessman is cast in the role of a villain, it must be made clear that he is not typical, but is as much despised by his fellow businessmen as he is by other members of society."



Anderson in the Wall Street Journal

"The following is a public service feature—we're going off the air for a half-hour."

HENRY M. KENNEDY of the Prudential Insurance Co. testified his firm had vetoed a documentary on the bank holiday of 1933 because "it cast a little doubt on all financial institutions, and all financial institutions these days are in pretty good shape."

John W. Burgard of Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp. (Kools, Raleigh, Viceroy) was firmly against violence on TV. He said his company never allowed characters to stamp cigarettes under foot or crush them violently in an ashtray. Cigarettes used by "questionable characters" should be "regular size, plain ends and unidentifiable," he said. But "cigarettes used by meritorious characters should be Brown & Williamson brands."

General Motors' advertising director was against alcoholism; his company censored a script showing a drunkard driving an auto.

The du Pont company spokesman said the company sought out "lighter, happier" plays for its "Show of the Month" after it got poor reaction to its commercials on productions of **Ethan Frome** and **Hamlet**. He admitted that **Ethan Frome** was a classic but he described it as "very sad and distressful" as opposed to **Harvey**, which was fey and made viewers feel kindly toward the sponsor.

ONE OF THE REASONS good shows managed to penetrate the sponsor curtain was described by Peter G. Peterson, president of Bell & Howell. He said that since the camera company switched from sponsoring westerns and private eye shows to public affairs programs, sales have increased considerably. Bell & Howell exercises no censorship over "Close-Up," which has shown excellent documentaries on Latin America and Africa.

Despite threats of boycott in the South, the company sponsored "Walk in My Shoes," a Negro view of segregation. Two Southern stations canceled the show (one showed "Operation Abolition" instead; the other, a Billy Graham exhortation), but Peterson said the company would not change its policy because "we would be abandoning our conviction and faith that most Americans are fair-minded people who realize they must know more if our society is to survive" and the only way for TV to help is by "sponsorship without censorship."

David A. Shepard of Standard Oil of New Jersey said its nonintervention policy in "Play of the Week" and "Age of Kings," a series of Shakespeare plays, had drawn criticism from "some industrial and advertising circles" and from some stockholders. But, he said, the overwhelming sentiment from viewers was "highly commendatory."

The company, he added, wanted to be satisfied only as to the "professional competence and mature judgment" of the shows' producers. "We considered it as somewhat pretentious and unrealistic to set ourselves up as arbiters or censors in the field of drama."

A more restrained voice against censorship was Douglas S. Smith of the S. C. Johnson & Sons, which sponsors the variety series, "The Garry Moore Show." He said that the company never sees advance scripts, but, he added, "If they were going to put on some person we thought was going to overthrow the government of the United States, we would yell pretty hard."

—**Robert E. Light**

LOS ANGELES

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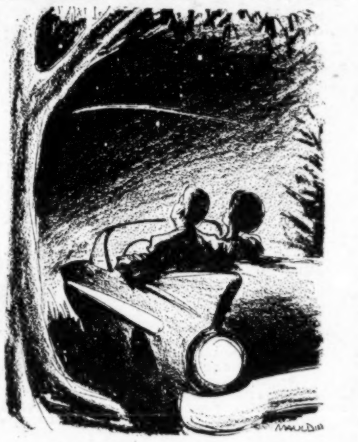
the SPECTATOR

Peace walk in Moscow

THE San Francisco to Moscow peacewalkers—after ten months of hiking more than 6,000 miles in winter and summer through deserts, mountains, cities and villages across seven countries on two continents—finally made it.

With thousands watching, the 31 pacifists held a six-hour walk through Moscow streets Oct. 3, with 100 members of the Soviet Peace Council joining them behind banners calling for unilateral disarmament and nonviolence.

During their five-day stay in the Soviet capital, they distributed thousands of leaflets, held meetings, attended the Bolshoi ballet and met, among others, with Mrs. Nina Khrushchev and Mikhail P. Georgadze, secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The group called a final halt to the march Oct. 8 and scattered to homes in nine different countries, with 15 returning to the United States.



Mauldin in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Wow! Look at the shooting star . . . I hope."

Outside of unilateral disarmament, the pacifists received just about everything they hoped for in the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union has cared for us superbly," said Peace Walk leader Bradford Lyttle, secretary of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, which sponsored the march.

The Russian people responded warmly to the marchers' call for peace, but most of those who heard the walkers along the 700-mile route from Brest to Moscow could not conceive of Russia's disarming first without international agreements.

WHILE IN THE SOVIET UNION, the pacifists demonstrated in scores of cities, with as many as 1,500 turning out to hear them. They denounced resumption of nuclear testing and called for conscientious noncooperation with military policies—the same message they brought to the West.

The mayor of Brest told the walkers he "understood there was war hysteria in the United States but that hysteria does not exist in the Soviet Union. In Kubrin the next day, walker Millie Gilbertson reported, "the hall resounded with laughter when it was explained that America fears a surprise attack from Russia. This was an unbelievable idea to them."

The audience was more somber in Minsk's Friendship House, when Lyttle, a conscientious objector, declared:

"I went to jail because I refused to serve in the U.S. Army. I have protested against American rockets aimed at your cities and families. There are Soviet rockets aimed at my city and my family. Are you demonstrating against that?"

THE WALKERS REPORTED that the Russians feasted them at nearly every turn in the road. On Sept. 25, between Kroupy and Orsha, the Walk broke for a roadside lunch, and later recorded in its log:

"It was staggering, fantastic. There were 20 people in attendance, including two chefs. They had set up a kitchen behind an embankment. On the grass, stretching 40 feet, were linen table cloths laid over plywood. Fruit and decorative cakes were in the center Dinnerware and silver were used down the line. Little decorated cakes in plates set here and there, cream cheese with whipped cream, cutlets ahd potatoes, ice cream and coffee. They were pleased with our reactions of surprise and wonder."

Two days later after a similar repast: "Scott Herrick looked around and remarked that by the time we reached Moscow, our peace message would be one big belch."

IN MOSCOW THE WALKERS distributed 25,000 Russian-language leaflets the first day. Chanting "Peace and Friendship" in Russian, they walked to Red Square, where they held a silent vigil for peace in front of the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum. Soviet officials banned speeches in the square, so the group passed out leaflets and talked to individual Russians for the rest of the day.

The most stimulating exchange of ideas occurred in Moscow on Oct. 5 when 20 walkers spoke to about 200 students at Moscow University. Professors sought to end the meeting after two hours but students demanded, and received more time. They listened for another hour.

The meeting with Mrs. Khruchchev on Oct. 6 gave the Soviet Union an opportunity to make known that "we are not building air-raid shelters because we are not getting ready for war." This must have come as a shock to Americans caught up in the fallout shelter craze. Mrs. Khrushchev simply sighed when the walkers pleaded for an end to nuclear bomb testing. She said later she agreed with her husband that "all bombs should be dropped into the ocean."

On their way to the Soviet Union, the pacifists walked across the U.S., England, Belgium, West Germany, East Germany and Poland. East Germany expelled them after a week and France would not let the peacewalkers in. Information about a planned lecture tour of the walkers may be obtained from the CNVA office at 158 Grand St., New York.

—**Jack Smith**